

Message Text

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PAGE 01 JAKART 03762 310942Z

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7296

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TAGS: PFOR MILI ID VS

SUBJ: INDONESIA AND ICCS

REF: A. STATE 071694 B. JAKARTA 3691 C. JAKARTA 3729

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING MARCH 31, FONDEPT DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS DJAJADININGRAT CONFIRMED GOI, UNDER PRESSURE FRM MILITARY, GIVING SERIOUS THOUGHT TO WITHDRAWING FROM ICCS IN VIEW CHANGING POLITCAL REALITIES IN AREA AND DOUBTS THAT GVN CAN WITHSTAND CURRENT COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE. DJAJADININGRAT, NOTING HE (AND IMPLIEDLY MALIK) CAN SEE RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION, STATED PRECIPITOUS FINAL DECISION UNLIKELY, ADDING THAT US REACTION TO CRISIS, OUR ASSESSMENT OF GVN PROSPECTS, AND DEVELOPING SITUATION IN VIETNAM WILL ALL INFLUENCE GOI DECISION. END SKMMARY

2. IN MEETING EARLY MARCH 31, FONDEPT DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS DJAJADININGRAT, WHO HAD INVITED ME IN, OPENED BY STATING HE SURE I KNEW SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION, AND ASKED FOR US ASSESSMENT OF SIUATION IN VIETNAM. I REPLIED THAT, FROM MEETING WITH DEFENSE SECURITY CHIEF MAJGEN MURDANI(REF B), I KNEW GOI REVIEWING ENTIRE VIETNAM SITUATION, INCLUDING PARTICPATION IN ICCS, DRAWING FROM MEMORANDUM (WHICH I LEFT WITH DJAJADINGRAT)BASED

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 JAKART 03762 310942Z

ON POINTS MADE REF A, I OUTLINED IN SOME DETAIL REASONS

US HOPES THAT INDONESIA WILL REMAIN IN ICCS. I PARTICULARLY STRESSED ADVERSE REACTION IN VIETNAM, US AND ELSEWHERE IF NON-COMMUNIST INDONESIA WERE TO DEAL SERIOUS BLOW TO PARIS ACCORDS AND URGED THAT INDONESIA RETAIN AT LEAST A NUCLEUS ICCS CONTINGENT IN SAIGON. I ALSO NOTED THAT, FROM ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO ME, IT APPEARS NORTH VIETNAM NOT YET SEEKING TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY BUT RATHER HOPING TO INCREASE ITS BARGAINING POSITION IN NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THIS REASON INDONESIA'S WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE DOUBLY UNFORTUNATE. LEGAL STRUCTURE FOR ANY RESUMPTION NEGOTIATIONS RAMINS PARIS AGREEMENTS IN ALL ASPECTS.

3. DJADININGRAT STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD VERY WELL ARGUMENTS I WAS MAKING AND THAT HE (AND IMPLIEDLY FONMIN MALIK) COULD SEE NEED FOR CONTINUING INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS. HOWEVER, THEY WERE FACED WITH COUNTERING FEELING ON PART OF INDONESIAN MILITARY THAT GVN UNABLE CONTAIN COMMUNIST MILITARY AGGRESSION (NOTE REF C) AND THAT US WITHDRAWING FROM SCENE. IN THIS CONNECTION HE ASKED SPECIFICALLY IF (A) US LIKELY TO SEND TROOPS TO VIETNAM; I REPLIED THIS IS FORBIDDEN BY LAW; (B) IF US LIKELY TO RESUME BOMBING; I REPLIED THIS UNLIKELY UNLESS PICTURES OF FLIGHT FROM DANANG WERE DRASTICALLY TO CHANGE US PUBLIC OPINION; AND (C) IF US LIKELY TO PROVIDE MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE; I REPLIED ADMINISTRATION IS SEEKING SUCH ASSISTANCE AND PROSPECTS NOT ENTIRELY UNFAVORABLE. DJADININGRAT NOTED THAT, IN OPINION OF INDONESIAN MILITARY, US MILITARY ASSISTANCE ALONE WILL NOT SUFFICE, ADDING THAT FONDEPT IS CONCERNED OVER REPORTS OF ARRESTS OF THIEU OPPONENTS AT TIME GVN SHOULD BE SEEKING WIDEST BACKING.

4. DJADININGRAT ASKED FOR OUR APPRAISAL OF SITUATION IN VIETNAM AND GVN PROSPECTS. I RELIED THAT WE HAD REQUESTED SUCH AN APPRAISAL AND WOULD PASS IT ON WHEN RECEIVED. DJADININGRAT STATED THAT GOI DECISION WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY THIS APPRAISAL, BY US REACTION TO SITUATION AS EVIDENCED BY INCREASED SUPPORT FOR GVN THROUGH MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES, AND BY
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SECRET

PAGE 03 JAKARTA 03762 310942Z

DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM ITSELF.

5. I NOTED THAT WE HAD HEARD REPORTS GOI MIGHT MAKE DECISION BEFORE PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S TRIP TO AUSTRALIA APRIL 3. SINCE INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS HAD ORIGINATED IN DISCUSSION BETWEEN SUHARTO AND SECRETARY KISSINGER I WOULD HOPE THAT, BEFORE ANY FINAL DECISIONS WERE MADE, WE MIGHT HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW QUESTION

WITH PRESIDENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, I NOTED THAT I WOULD BE ACCOMPANYING CHAIRMAN JOINT CHIEFS GENERAL BROWN ON HIS CALL ON SUHARTO (TENTATIVELY SET FOR APRIL 7). I ALSO URGED THAT INDONESIA WORK WITH IRAN ON ICCS FUTURE INCLUDING ANY APPROACH TO SIGNATORY POWERS OF PARIS ACCORDS.

6. DJAJADINGRAT REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT FORESEE A PRECIPITOUS DECISION TO WITHDRAW. IN RESPONSE MY QUESTION ABOUT CONSULTATION WITH IRAN, DJAJADINGRAT NOTED HE HAD CALLED IN IRANIAN AMBASSADOR SHOKOUHIAN EARLIER IN MORNING BUT "THAT MAN" QUITE UNINFORMED ON ICCS MATTERS AND NEEDED TO REFER QUESTION TO TEHRAN.

7. COMMENT: PICTURE PAINTED BY DJAJADINGRAT VERY SIMILAR TO THAT RECEIVED DURING MARCH 29 MEETING WITH MURDANI(REF C) ALTHOUGH SUGGESTS DECISION LESS IMMINENT AND THAT FONDEPT IS APPARENTLY STILL ARGUING FOR CONTINUED INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION. IF SITUATION IN VIETNAM STABILIZES AND GVN ABLE TO DRAW LINES IT CAN DEFEND, THERE SOME CHANCE OF FONDEPT'S VOICE PREVAILING. HOWEVER, IF SITUATION DETERIORATES STEADILY, UPON HIS RETURN TO INDONESIA APRIL 5 SUHARTO WILL BE FACED WITH EVEN STRONGER VOICES URGING HE PULL OUT OF ICCS FOR MILITARY AND POLITICAL REASONS.

8. OPPORTUNITY PROBABLY STILL EXISTS FOR FURTHER ARGUMENTATION IF DEPARTMENT WISHES MAKE SUGGESTIONS. ASSUME DEPARTMENT WILL INSURE GENERAL BROWN BRIEFED FULLY ON THIS SITUATION. NEWSOM

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